1: Childs M-S (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

expeditions. Many blood-brotherhoods were doubtless undertaken purely from motives of friendship.[1] The *vakuacisoko* is a friendly institution. The Ovimbundu are a friendly people.

Identification is a strikingly important feature of Umbundu social adjustments and of the whole learning process. Children overtly identify themselves with older siblings, with parents, with other older relatives both living and dead, with friends of their parents, with the village headman, or even the king.[2] This perhaps is the process involved in that which the Ovimbundu name reincarnation. It is largely through identification that character appears to run in families. This is why boys are so keen to learn the professions of their fathers or their mother's brothers. Identification with their seniors in social position and economic activity more closely cements the unity of the child–adult sphere and gives the children yet another urge to enter into adult life and assume complete responsibility as quickly as possible.

'Inferiority Conflict' has probably been present in Umbundu life for a long time, perhaps since the rubber trade (1874), perhaps even longer. When a people's activity is keyed to so high a pitch there will be some individuals who find themselves inadequate. There are a number of proverbs which ridicule the stay-at-homes or those 'too lazy' to undertake the exceedingly arduous trading expeditions. European domination has set new paces and created new frustrations, with one result, that 'inferiority conflicts' are probably on the increase. Many individual instances could be cited. A particularly striking one of my observation is of a man whose suffering from epileptic seizures had induced attitudes of inferiority. The conflict was exacerbated by his selection as a hospital assistant, in which position the responsibility required was plainly beyond his ability.[3] Individuals suffering from any physical disability find life difficul among such an aggressive people.

If the disability is great the handicapped individual generally finds the adjustment beyond his powers. I have observed a number of severely crippled individuals brought up in traditional kinship groups, and all of them were suffering from overt inferiority conflicts. All of these individuals had adopted compensatory

[1] Although the rite seems to have connotations of sorcery.

[2] Among the Tallensi, according to Fortes, identification is only with older siblings, with parents, and with 'the clan' (op. cit., pp. 46 ff.).

[3] Epilepsy (*ocinonya*) is considered by the Ovimbundu as a visitation of the spirits and is much feared.

L: Childs M-S (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

behaviour of an anti-social nature.[1] The foregoing analysis refers chiefly to those of the Ovimbundu who now live or were reared within their traditional social structure, with but slight reference to other individuals.

The Umbundu Estimate of Character

The Umbundu concept of personality as being achieved by a process of social integration is of fundamental importance, bearing in mind that society consists of the whole kinship group—including the living and the dead, men and spirits. The process of achieving integration together with reactions to various cultural elements interestingly reveal the types of character appreciated and those disliked by the Ovimbundu.

Almost everything in Umbundu life and culture reveals them to be a strong and aggressive people. Their history, whether of raiding or of trading, is eloquent testimony to this. The early age at which children participate and assume responsibility in social and economic life has doubtless contributed toward the development of aggressive attitudes. The system of marriage which places the balance of responsibility in all particulars upon the bridegroom and not on his elders, but at the same time requires the willing consent of the bride, is evidently a development of a strongly aggressive people. Their economic life witnesses to the same fact, whether one considers their trade or their agriculture. None but an aggressive (or a very stubborn) people could succeed at farming in a region of such poor soil. Basing his observations only on their pillage and robbery of all their neighbours, and on the submission of the latter, Magyar remarked that the Ovimbundu were the greatest people of South Africa.[2]

In view of these facts it is not difficult to understand that the Ovimbundu appreciate character integration which includes a high degree of self-expression. Such 'traits'[3] as drive, extroversion, insight, ascendance, and expansion[4] are desired and appreciated by the Ovimbundu. Introversion and reclusion, on the other hand, are disliked. In the more extreme forms they are feared and

[1] Stealing is one of the commonest types of behaviour in such cases.

[2] L. Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, p. 265.

[3] The term is used merely for convenience to cover types of behaviour. The specificity of the responses which make up character is assumed; cf. Hugh Hartshorne and Mark May, *Studies in the Nature of Character*, 3 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1928–30).

[4] After Allport, op. cit., chap. v.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

positions on domes of rock. The first tomb examined was in Ganda (Plate LXXIV, Fig. 1). This tomb is carefully built up from pieces of granite detached from the rocks which serve as a base. Horns of animals are placed on the cairn which is further decorated by a stick bearing the tail of an animal. Plate XXXII, Fig. 1, shows a tomb of similar structure in the country of the Vasele. From one such tomb it was possible to detach a slab so that the interior could be seen. There were two male skeletons; one lay supine while the bones of the other were in disorder.

In a hunter's house of bows there are implements of deceased hunters, whose ceremonies centering in these relics have been described under the heading of hunting.

TRAINING OF MEDICINE-MEN

Training for the position of male or female magician (*ocimbanda*) is not carried out with formality ending in initiatory rites, neither is the position hereditary; but the boy or girl who wishes to become an *ocimbanda* must have "spirit in the head." This choice of children of peculiar neurotic temperament for the positions of medicine-men and medicine-women is widely distributed, as I have shown in some detail (Origins of Education, 1926, pp. 256–259).

Among the Ovimbundu there does not appear to be an intensifying of natural psychoses by seclusion, starvation, or beating. When a boy is sick, the medicine-man says, "You have a spirit who wants you to be *ocimbanda*." The medicine-man kills a dog, a goat, and four chickens, then the boy has to accompany his master, carrying his apparatus and obeying him in every way. The medicine-man says, "Your father was an *ocimbanda* and the spirit wants you." The female *ocimbanda* is called *cambula* by other women, and her services are preferred to those of the male *ocimbanda* in cases of difficult childbirth.

In Ngalangi I was informed that the Ovimbundu have great faith in the medicine-men of the Vangangella, a name vaguely applied by the Ovimbundu to several tribes of east-central Angola. An Ocimbundu will make a journey of several days in order to visit a distant medicine-man of another tribe.

FUNCTIONS OF MEDICINE-MEN

Magical practices are of two kinds, social and anti-social. The man who carries out divination, rain-making, healing the sick, and many other functions is *ocimbanda*, while the secret worker of evil, the witch or wizard, is *onganga*. In one village there may be several